

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-08

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3267

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1084

PLEASE PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) PFOR ZA

SUBJECT: ZAMBIAN MOOD ON EVE OF VISIT

REF: STATE 099043 TOSEC 110030

1. BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ZAMBIA ARE REGARDED BY US AND THE ZAMBIANS AS GOOD TO EXCELLENT. THERE IS A BASIC RESERVOIR OF GOODWILL TOWARD THE US IN THIS COUNTRY DERIVING FROM KAUNDA'S OWN DEEP FEELING AND BELIEF THE US CAN BE COUNTED ON TO EXERCISE POLITICAL AS WELL AS MORAL LEADERSHIP AND THAT THE US IS A POINT OF ULTIMATE RELIANCE FOR AFRICA IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN STRUGGLE. BUT ZAMBIAN CREDULITY IS WEARING THIN AND THE SECRETARY'S TRIP IS SEEN AS SOMETHING OF A FINAL TEST OF THIS BELIEF. EDUCATED, SOPHISTICATED AND TRAVELED ZAMBIANS VALUE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, SOCIETY AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS THEY ARE BASICALLY CAPITALISTIC BY NATURE BUT THEY ARE AN ELITE MINORITY. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S DIPLOMATIC ACHIEVEMENTS ARE WIDELY RECOGNIZED AND APPLAUDED BY ZAMBIANS IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT AND HIS SPECIAL MAGIC IS RELIED ON TO FIND SOME WAY OUT THE DILEMMA IN WHICH SOUTHERN AFRICA NOW FINDS ITSELF VIS A VIS RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IF ANYONE CAN FIND A WAY TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK BETWEEN SMITH'S MINORITY RULE AND

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BLACK MAJORITY ASPIRATIONS, ZAMBIANS BELIEVE IT IS THE

SECRETARY. BUT HE WILL BE PUT TO A HARD TEST FROM KAUNDA ON DOWN THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT AS ZAMBIA IS NOW FIRMLY COMMITTED TO A WAR OF LIBERATION IN RHODESIA. YET KAUNDA WOULD GRAB A T A PEACEFUL OPTION IF SOMEONE LIKE THE SECRETARY COULD FIND A WAY OR OFFER A SOLUTION TO BREAK THE IMPASSE.

2. THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON US POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA TO BE MADE IN LUSAKA IS THUS LOOKED TO WITH KEEN ANTICIPATION AND HIGH INTEREST. THE SECRETARY'S VISIT CONINCIDES WITH THE MEETING IN LUSAKA OF ZAMBIAN RULING PARTY'S SEMI-ANNUAL NATIONAL COUNCIL WHICH DRAWS ALL ZAMBIANS WHO COUNT POLITICALLY BACK TO THE CAPITAL FROM DISTANT PROVINCES AND OVERSEAS DIPLOMATIC POSTS. THESE ZAMBIAN LEADERS WILL HAVE FRONT ROW SEATS AND A FIRST HARD VIEW OF THE MAJOR EVENTS OF SECRETARY'S VISIT INCLUDING HIS APRIL 27 ADDRESS WHICH WILL BE CARRIED LIVE BY ZAMBIAN RADIO AND TV.

3. DESPITE KAUNDA'S SECRET HOPES FOR A KEY AMERICAN ROLE AND NOTWITHSTANDING THE BASIC RESERVOIR OF GOODWILL TOWARD US EXISITNG IN THIS COUNTRY, MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND SOME GENUINE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US PERSIST. PRES KAUNDA'S DEVOTION TO THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT, THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY, AND RIGHTS OF SMALL STATES VIS A VIS THE TWO SUPERPOWERS HAS LED HIM TO BE HIGHLY CRITICAL OF US POLICIES, MOST NOTEWORTHY VIETNAM, WHICH MAY BE FORFIVEN BUT NOT FORGOTTEN, KAUNDA AND INDEED MANY ZAMBIAN LEADERS STILL HAVE ONLY AN IMPERFECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE US AND ITS POLITICS, ECONOMY, AND CAPABILITIES AND POTENTIAL IN US RELATIONSHIPS IN AFRICA. ZAMBIAN PERCEPTIONS ARE OFTEN DISTORTED BY ADVERSE PUBLITICY IN WORLD

PRESS WITH FREQUENT AND EXAGGERATED PROMINENCE GIVEN (ESPECIALLY BY TROUBLESOME TIMES OF ZAMBIA) TO AMERICAN RACIAL TENSIONS, POVERTY, INADEQUACIES IN OUR HEALTH AND WELFARE SYSTEMS, AND POLITICAL SCANDALS. SOME HOW ZAMBIANS TAKE A BIZARRE DELIGHT IN ASSUMING THAT A SMALL COUNTRY HAS FEWER SOCIAL EVILS THAN A BIG POWER. KAUNDA'S EGALITARIAN IDEALS HOLD CAPITALISM TO BE EXPLOITATION OF POOR BY RICH. IT IS THEREFORE AN EVIL TO BE COMBATED. IT PREDISPOSES KAUNDA ON PRINCIPLE TO BE OPENLY CRITICAL OF OUR FREE SECRET

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ENTERPRISE SYSTEM DESPITE HIS INADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE OF ITS STRENGTHSAND WEAKNESSES. HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE HESITANT BECAUSE OF AFFILIATION TO NON-ALIGNMENT TO OPEN THEIR DOOR WIDE TO AMERICAN EDUCATORS, INVESTORS AND TECHNICAL EXPERTS. THOSE SENIOR ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS WHO ARE MORE AWARE OF AMERICAN REALITIES, POTENTIAL AND RELEVANCE OF OUR ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS ARE SHY ABOUT CORRECTING KAUNDA'S MISAPPREHENSIONS FOR FEAR IT WILL BE TAKEN AS CRITICISM

AND THEIR POLITICAL CAREERS PUT AT STAKE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1084

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4. PRIMARY AREA OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN OVER SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. KAUNDA AND MOST OF HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA USG HAS NOT, AT LEAST IN RECENT YEARS, LIVED UP TO ITS OWN POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN IDEALS OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION, MAJORITY RULE, AND RACIAL JUSTICE. DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS ON OUR PART TO SET RECORD STRAIGHT, THERE CONTINUE TO BE MANY ZAMBIANS WHO REALLY BELIEVE THAT USG POLICY IS SOUTHERN AFRICA IS INCLINED TOWARD SUPPORT OF WHITE MINORITY RULE AS MEANS OF PROTECTING ASSUMED US ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, AND RHODESIA. FACT THAT US EXECUTIVE, DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS, HAS BEEN UNABLE TO SECURE REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT FOR PURCHASE OF RHODESIAN CHROME IN VIOLATION OF UN SANCTIONS OR TO FIND WAY TO CLOSE RHODESIAN INFORMATION OFFICE IN WASHINGTON IS SEEN BY ZAMBIANS AS EVIDENCE OF USG "COLLABORATION" WITH WHITE MINORITY REGIMES RATHER THAN OF COMPLEXITY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND LEGAL SAFEGUARDS. FAMILIAR ONLY WITH BRITISH-STYLE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

AND WITH HOME-BRED TRADITION OF STRONG EXECUTIVE WHOSE POLITICAL
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WILL IS ESSENTIALLY UNCHECKED BY WEAK LEGISLATURE AND ONLY
RARELY CHALLENGED BY INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, ZAMBIANS FIND IT
DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE AMERICANS WHEN THEY EXPLAIN WHY THESE
ANOMALIES IN OUR AFRICAN POLICY PERSIST.

5. NEVERTHELESS, OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS AND EXPECIALLY DURING
PAST YEAR FOLLOWING KAUNDA'S VISIT TO U.S., OFFICIALLY INSPIRED
ZAMBIAN CRITICISM OF US POLICIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS BEEN
MUTED. FOR THE MOMENT THEREFORE THE COMPARATIVELY SATISFACTORY
STATE OF OUR RELATIONS RESTS UPON THE FOLLOWING COINCIDENCES
OF POLICY:

A. OUR MUTUAL DESIRE TO CHECK FURTHER SPREAD OF SOVIET/CUBAN
INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA FOLLOWING TRIUMPH OF SOVIET-
BACKED MPLA. HOWEVER, WHILE USG PREFERS TO DENOUNCE THIS
INFLUENCE REPEATEDLY AND PUBLICLY ZAMBIA WANTS ISSUE SOFT-
PEDALED SO AS NOT TO GIVE COMFORT TO SMITH. ZAMBIA SEES US AS
SOURCE OF POTENTIAL ECONOMIC AID AS WELL AS OF POLITICAL SUPPORT
AGAINST SOVIET-ORCHESTRATED EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL PRESSURES
NOT ONLY FOR HERSELF BUT FOR NEWLY INDEPENDENT NEIGHBORS OF
MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA. EARLIER ZAMBIAN FEARS OF A POTENTIAL
MILITARY THREAT FROM ANGOLA HAVE APPARENTLY DIMINISHED FOLLOWING
RECENT MOVES TO REGULARIZE RELATIONS WITH THE MPLA REGIME.
BUT SUSPICION OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INTENTIONS REMAINS HIGH.

B. US SUPPORT FOR KAUNDA'S PRAGMATIC EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE
MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA THROUGH
PEACEFUL POLITICAL NEGOTIATION. AS PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL
NEGOTIATION OF MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA HAVE RECEDED,
ZAMBIANS CONSIDER MORE ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT BY US AND BY
SECRETARY KISSINGER PERSONALLY AND ON AN URGENT BASIS IS ONLY
WAY TO HEAD OFF GROWING DANGER OF A BLOODY AND POLITICALLY
DESTABILIZING RACIAL CONFLICT.

C. ZAMBIA'S DEDICATION TO NON-ALIGNMENT AND DETERMINATION
TO AVOID CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH ANY GREAT POWER, INCLUDING
THE US, WILL LIKELY INCLINE KAUNDA AND OTHER ZAMBIANS TO BE
CIRCUMSPECT ESPECIALLY IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT
FOR US OBJECTIVES EXCEPT WHERE THESE CLOSELY PARALLEL AND SUPPORT
THEIR OWN. KAUNDA WILL HAVE TO LOOK GOOD AND TO HAVE
BEEN FIRM WHEN HE FACES NATIONAL COUNCIL WHICH IMMEDIATELY
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FOLLOWS SECRETARY'S VISIT. HE WILL ALSO HAVE IN MIND HOW HIS PERFORMANCE WILL APPEAR TO NYERERE AND MACHEL AND OTHER AFRICAN HARD-LINERS.

6. TO CAPITULATE, ZAMBIANS ARE LOOKING FORWARD WITH CONSIDERABLE EXPECTATION TO SECRETARY'S VISIT AS MARKING DRAMATIC NEW TURNING POINT NOT ONLY IN US POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION ITSELF. THEY ARE EAGER TO MEET AND HEAR SECRETARY AND TO SHOW HIM SOMETHING OF THEIR COUNTRY AND ITS MAGNIFICENT NATURAL WONDERS. BUT THERE REMAINS UNDERLYING PESSIMISM THAT TIME FOR US TO MAKE EFFECTIVE DIPLOMATIC INTERVENTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MAY ALREADY HAVE PASSED AND THAT ONLY TRIAL OF ARMS CAN NOW SUCCEED IN TOPPLING SMITH REGIME OR BRINGING SELF-DETERMINATION TO NAMIBIA. THERE IS MUCH HOPE RIDING ON SECRETARY'S VISIT BUT IT COULD EASILY TURN TO DISAPPOINTMENT IF THIS POSSIBLY LAST CHANCE BY WESTERN POWER TO APPEAL TO SMITH AND VORSTER TO SEE REASON DOES NOT WHOLLY SUCCEED.
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